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REMARKS ON SOME GREEK MARGINALIA IN DEMOTIC TAX RECEIPTS

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Remarks on Some Greek Marginalia in Demotic Tax Receipts

During my searches through publications of demotic ostraka from Roman Thebes I came across a number of texts which, for various reasons, drew my attention. Herewith I present a number of observations on these texts; they are given in a random order.

1) **O.dem Leiden 20** (Thebes, 18.vii?.38P): The editor of this demotic receipt for delivery of 1/12th art. of wheat delivered as fee of the bath of the temple of Month, lord of Medamud (possibly on the West bank of the Nile, cf. OMH 158 and 159; for similar first century deliveries of wheat as bath-tax cf. Dem.Ostr.Mattha 161 [20P and the Greek texts O.Petr. 114 [19P], O.Bodl. II 738 [20P], O.Stras. 262 [26P]; cf. BL II.1 29; II.2 150], 263 [29P; cf. BL, loc.cit.) and O.Bodl. II 739 [29P]) has left the Greek in line 9 of his text unread. On the basis of the photo (pl.3) and the drawing (p.585) of the text I think that this line reads: 'Ον]νῶ(φρις) ἐπηκ(ολούθηκα), i.e. the signature of some official: "I, Onnophris, have checked it". I do not think that this man is identical with the official who signed the demotic/Greek ostrakon O.Med.Habu 75 (5-4^a; cf. R.S. Bagnall in *Enchoria* 8 [1978] 146), ll. 6-7: 'Οννῶ(φρις) γραμμα(τεὺς) ἐπηκολούθη(κα). The distance in time (38P <> 4^a) makes, in my opinion, such an identification less likely.

2) **OrSuec 31-2 (1982-3) 9, # IV**: The editor publishes a fragmentarily preserved demotic ostrakon containing the end of a regnal dating formula (Claudius, year [], Tybi 15) with a Greek subscription reading ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑ[. He adds the comment that he cannot establish the nature of the receipt with certainty, but that he reckons with a receipt for some money tax. In this thought he was certainly on the right track. The plate accompanying this ostrakon convinces me that the scribe of the Greek subscription is in fact identical with the person who wrote the Greek subscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑC on a demotic ostrakon published by the same author in OrSuec 19-20 (1970-71) 39, # XIV, a receipt for bath-tax for year 2 of the emperor Claudius issued by a tax-collector Ptolemaios, s.o. Asklas. One encounters this man in yet another bilingual document which deserves our attention, viz.

3) **O.dem.Leiden 21**: This text contains a receipt for bath-tax dated to year 3 of an unnamed emperor, i.e. either Gaius year 3 = A.D. 38-39, or Claudius year 3 = A.D. 42-43. The editor has left lines 7-8 unread but on the photo (pl.3) and the drawing (p.585) one can see that line 7 contains a Greek subscription reading ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑC, written by the same person as the one discussed supra sub '2'. I am doubtful whether there ever was a line 8. The other bilingual documents signed by this man do not show more than his plain name; the drawing of the text does not show any ink trace in a supposed line 8 and the photo makes me believe that below the signature there are only some dirty smudges on the surface of the ostrakon. In line 1, we should now probably read *Ptlm3s*, rather than the editor's *Krm3s*.

We happen to have a dossier of texts, all --insofar as completely preserved-- receipts for bath-tax collected by Ptolemaios, son of Asklas, and by another bath-tax collector Asklas, who

probably was his father (a nice instance of the hereditary institution of the tax-collecting process!). The texts, put into their chronological order, are:

Asklas (= the father of Ptolemaios):

O.Cair. 9577 = SB I 4519 (14) [τελώνης βαλανή(ου), l. -νεί(ου)]

O.Leid. 45 (15): collects jointly with Chesthotes, τελῶναι βαλαν(είου) [ed. βαλαν(ευτικοῦ)]; for the indication of the tax found here cf. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, 425, n.88.

O.dem. Mattha 160 (15) (no title)

O.Tait II 655 (21) [with colleagues-πράκτορες βαλ(ανήου)]

O.Stras. 262 (26) (πράκτωρ θεαγῶν)

O.Stras. 263 (28/9) (idem)

O.Tait II 739 (29) (idem)

(One might compare for him also O.Petr. 119 [14] and WO II 1551 [34], both receipts for weavers tax collected by [the same?] Asklas. Cf. also the collector Asklas in the weavers tax receipt SB I 4327, the date of which cannot be correct, cf. BL II.1 21; a date under the emperor Tiberius seems most likely, but it is uncertain which regnal year is concerned; read the year numeral as 1 (=A.D. 14/15), 15 (=28/29) or yr 21 (= 34/35)?)

Ptolemaios/Ptolemas, son of Asklas (his regular subscription is ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟC; only aberrations are listed below):

1) O.Stras. 179 (35); Greek receipt with demotic docket

2) WO II 1032 (35, ed. 34)

3) WO II 1033 (35, ed. 34) (subscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙC)

4) O.Tait II 659 (35)

5) Mattha, Demotic Ostraca 167: bath-tax for year 2 (= 37/38 [Gaius yr 2] or 41/42 [Claudius yr 2]; ed. I-II)

6) O.dem.Leid. 21 + pl.3: bath-tax for year 3 (= 38/39 [Gaius yr 3] or 42/43 [Claudius yr 3]); demotic with Gr. subscription (r.7): ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑC

7) WO II 390 (39/40 [Gaius yr 4] or 43/44 [Claudius yr 4]); read in lines 1, 3: βαλ(ανείου) [ed.. βαλ(ανικοῦ)], cf. O.Stras.179 [#1], line 3

8) WO II 1037 (39/40 [Gaius yr 4] or 43/44 [Claudius yr 4])

9) Or.Suec. 19-20 (1970-71) p.39 no. XIV (42); demotic with Greek subscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑC

10) WO II 1035 (42)

11) WO II 1036 (42/43)

12) Or.Suec. 31-32 (1982-83) p.9 no. IV (41-54); demotic with Greek subscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑC

Possibly another son of the same Asklas, Pasemis, is collecting bath-tax in O.Leid. 46 (= WO II 1321, 22/23); cf. also WO II 1263 (Tiberius yr 6 =19/20; ed. 18/19), where his patronymic is lacking and where he acts together with an unspecified number of colleagues.

As a number of persons paying taxes to these collectors are generally paying money taxes to the bank in Thebes, there is reason to believe that Asklas and Ptolemaios (and Pasemis?), too, operated in Thebes.

4) **Orientalia Suecana 27/28 (1978-79) 10 # V**: The editor of this text, reprinted in SB XVI.2 12502, reads the Greek in lines 5-6 as:

Λέωγ ἀλ(ικῆς) σϣγ (δραχμῆς) (ἥμισυ) [SB () circa ἥμισυ om.] (ὀβολός).

He translates 'Leon Salzsteuer, in alles (?) 1/2 Drachme, 1 Obol'. The demotic part contains the information that Paou, son of Pauon, paid 1/3 silver Kite, 1/2 ob. for 6 months in year 23; of course, one expects that there is some correspondence between the demotic and the Greek contents of this sherd. Some remarks are called for:

1° The editor's translation betrays that his reading Λέωγ is presumably just a misprint for Λέων (ν and γ are easily confused in some modern handwritings). But it is a long way from Paou to Leon, and the plate in the ed.princ. shows that Λέων cannot be correct. One must read here (with R.S.Bagnall and W. Clarysse, whom I consulted on this text) Παῶϣ: i.e. the demotic and the Greek refer to the same man indeed.

2° The reading of σϣγ is not correct. In fact, the photo enables me to read ζμη, i.e. (ἐξα)μή(νου); a nice parallel for this is, i.a., O.dem.Med.Habu 12.5, cf. R.S.Bagnall in *Enchoria* 8 (1978) 143f.

3° The amount paid reads in line 5 (ἥμισυ) (ὀβολόν) (ἡμιωβέλιον), and there is no further Greek text in line 6. This means that the payment in the Greek part, 4.5 ob., is equal to that referred to in the demotic part. Furthermore a rate of 4.5 ob. per 6 months amounts to a payment of 1 dr., 3 ob. per 12 months. Year 23 in this text, therefore, must be that of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 263-262. On the various levels of the salt-tax in Ptolemaic Egypt cf. most recently O.Ashm.Shelton # 1 introd.; cf. also CPR XIII, p.33.

To sum up: I read SB XVI 12502.5 as

Παῶϣ ἀλ(ικῆς) (ἐξα)μή(νου) <(δρ.)> (ἥμισυ) (ὀβολόν) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

We find a problematical reading of the Greek suscription to a demotic receipt for salt-tax also in our next text, viz.

5) **OrSuec 27-28 (1978-79) 25 # X**: The editor of this text (reprinted as SB XVI.2 12503) reads in his Greek lines 4-5:

Μητρ() ἀλ(ικῆς) (δραχμῆς) (ἥμισυ).

He translates 'Metr(odoros o.ä) Salzsteuer 1/2 (Drachme)'. At first I thought that one might be dealing here, again, with a payment of salt-tax for a period of 6 months, but, as the drawing in the *ed.princ.* was not too clear, I applied for a check of the original by T.S. Pattie (London). He sends me a new drawing + the result of his personal checking from which it appears that the beginning of line 4, i.e. Μητρ() ἀλ(ικῆς), reads: πέντωκεν; after that, there is trouble in that on the basis of the demotic one expects in the Greek 'translation' an indication of an amount equivalent to the 1/3th silver kite mentioned in the demotic receipt (i.e. τετρώβολον), while the scribe actually seems to have written '(δραχμ.) δ', followed in the next line near the right-hand edge by another sign that cannot be read convincingly. The ostrakon, therefore, remains a problem only partially solved.

6) **Petemenophis, son of Pamonthes**: The editor of O.dem.Louvre 534 (p.219) has already given a number of useful indications *re* texts mentioning this man, but there is even more material and it seems appropriate to give a fuller dossier. We have the following Theban texts which can be related to this man with certainty:

O.dem.Louvre 671 (p.247)	Tiberius	yr 16
Wångstedt, Ausgew.dem.Ostraka, 20	Tiberius	yr 17
Wångstedt, ibid. 27	Tiberius	yr 17
Mattha, Demotic Ostraka 79	Tiberius	yr 18
O.dem.Louvre 534 (p.219)=Mattha, DO 64	Gaius	yr 2

Furthermore, we have OrSuec 2 (1953) 15 (A.D. 16-17, prov. unknown) and Dem.OMH 35 (A.D. 2-3, Memnonia), but the Memnonia text seems too far distanced both in time and in place, while the OrSuec text may be related both to the earlier man from the Memnonia and to the later man from Thebes. For the time being it seems safer by all means to reckon with at least two homonymous individuals with homonymous patronymics.¹

Santpoort

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¹ I should like to thank R.S. Bagnall (New York) and W.Clarysse (Leuven) for kindly discussing both OrSuec-texts reprinted as SB XVI 12502, 12503 with me. Again, it is my pleasure to thank Dr. R.L. Hunsucker (Amsterdam) for correcting my English.